

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

ERDA-05 IO-10 OMB-01 SAM-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /075 W

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R 081434Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY SOFIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0014

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

USIA WASHDC

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PROP, XG, BU

SUBJECT: BULGARIAN REACTION TO CSCE

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. DOMESTIC CAMPAIGN IN GLORIFICATION HEL-
SINKI SUMMIT AND FINAL ACT OF CSCE STILL CONTINUING, BUT
IS LONG ON HISTORICALS AND SHORT ON DETAIL AND ANALYSIS.
MAIN THEME IS THAT SIGNING OF FINAL ACT REPRESENTS TRIUMPH
OF PEACEFUL POLICY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES LED BY SOVIET
UNION. BULGARIA AND ZHIVKOV TAKE BOWS FOR THEIR PERFORMANCE
ALSO. END SUMMARY.

2. WEEK AFTER SIGNING OF FINAL ACT OF CSCE, PRESS AND
TELEVISION CONTINUE TO FEATURE CSCE SUMMIT, DRAWING ON BOTH
FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC SOURCES FOR LAUDATORY MATERIALS. MOST
OF FORMER COMES FROM SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, PRE-
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DOMINANTLY SOVIET UNION. LATTER CONSISTS OF ZHIVKOV

PRONOUNCEMENTS, EDITORIALIZING, STATEMENTS BY GROUP REPRESENTATIVES, AND PERSONAL REACTION. MAJOR EVENING NEWS BROADCAST HAS INCLUDED PREPARED REMARKS BY CHAIRMAN OF ARTISTS UNION, A HERO OF SOCIALIST LABOR, ETC.

3. ZHIKOV CHARACTERIZATION OF CONFERENCE IN HELSINKI SPEECH AS "OCCURRENCE WITHOUT PRECEDENT IN MILLENNIAL HISTORY OF OUR OLD CONTINENT" IS REPRESENTATIVE OF TONE OF BULGARIAN COVERAGE. PRESS ON AUGUST 2 CARRIED SOME DETAILS OF FINAL ACT, BUT TEXT HAS NOT APPEARED, AND MOST COMMENT HAS BEEN GENERAL AND TENDING TOWARD EMOTIONAL. EMPHASIS HAS BEEN ON INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, TERRITORIAL, INTEGRITY, NON-RESORT TO FORCE, ETC, WITH BASKET III GOING VIRTUALLY UNNOTICED.

4. MAIN THEME OF BULGARIAN CAMPAIGN IS THAT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES LED BY SOVIET UNION AND BREZHNEV PERSONALLY HAVE SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST WESTERN OPPOSITION TO CSCE. ZHIVKOV ON ARRIVAL IN HELSINKI CALLED CONFERENCE "GREAT TRIUMPH OF PEACEFUL POLICY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, GREAT VICTORY OF PEOPLES OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES". IN ANSWER TO RHETORICAL QUESTION OF HOW HELSINKI MEETING WAS POSSIBLE, ZHIVKOV SAID FINAL CONCLUSION COULD ONLY BE THAT "SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES WERE UNDERGONE OVER PAST YEARS, CORRELATIONS OF FORCES BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM HAD CHANGED." STILL POINT IS MADE THAT CSCE AGREEMENT BENEFITS ALL COUNTRIES, AND BCP ORGAN RABOTNICHESKO DELO EDITORIAL CALLS IT "TRIUMPH OF COMMON SENSE AND GOOD WILL".

5. DESPITE CLAIM OF SOCIALIST TRIUMPH, MESSAGE IS ALSO CLEAR THAT PROCESS HAS NOT ENDED. EDITORIAL IN RABOTNICHESKO DELO WARNS, "THERE ARE STILL OTHER DIFFICULTIES TO OVERCOME AS OPPONENTS OF DETENTE HAVE NOT AND OBVIOUSLY DO NOT INTEND TO FURL THEIR DARK BANNERS." NECESSITY OF CONTINUING AND MAKING IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS OF DETENTE IS EMPHASIZED.

6. CAMPAIGN ALSO AIMED AT EDIFYING BULGARIAN AND ZHIVKOV EGOS. ZHIVKOV IN POST-CONFERENCE INTERVIEW LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WITH BULGARIAN CORRESPONDENTS PROCLAIMED "HERE ALL OF YOU SAW AND SENSED ENORMOUS AUTHORITY OF BULGARIA", AND MUCH HAS BEEN MADE DOMESTICALLY THAT ZHIVKOV WAS FIRST SPOKESMAN FOR SOCIALIST COUNTRY AT CONFERENCE. ROLE OF ZHIVKOV AT CONFERENCE IS SUBJECT OF CONTINUAL PRAISE IN MEDIA, AND MEETINGS AT HELSINKI WITH OTHER HEADS OF DELEGATIONS WERE HIGHLIGHTED.

7. LITTLE IF ANY INDICATION IS GIVEN THAT FINAL ACT WILL HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR DOMESTIC SCENE. ZHIVKOV IN HELSINKI SPEECH SPOKE OF "OPEN DOORS", BUT OBVIOUSLY OPEN IN ONLY ONE DIRECTION AND THEN WITH RESERVATIONS; "OUR DOORS WILL BE OPEN TO ALL PEOPLE WITH OPEN HEARTS, WITH GOOD AND HONEST INTENTIONS, WHO OBSERVE THE LAWS, TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HOUSE WHOSE GUEST THEY ARE." IN A WIDE-RANGING, POLICY SETTING SPEECH ON AUGUST 5, ZHIVKOV WITH REGARD TO CSCE FURTHER WARNED, "BUT WE DO NOT YIELD, AND WILL NOT YIELD A WHIT FROM OUR IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS, AND DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF OUR IDEOLOGY WITH ANY IDEOLOGY WHICH IS ALIEN TO US."

8. COMMENT: CAMPAIGN IS OBVIOUSLY CONTRIVED AND ORCHESTRATED. BUT DESPITE THIS AT LEAST ONE DIVIDED FAMILY CASE INQUIRED AS TO WHETHER OR NOT HELSINKI WOULD MEAN ANYTHING IN HER CASE. SHE WAS TOLD TO RE-APPLY FOR HER EXIT DOCUMENTS. AT LEAST INTERESTED BULGARIANS ARE GETTING SOME INFORMATION ON THE MEANING OF HELSINKI AND HOPING IT WILL IMPROVED THEIR PERSONAL LOTS.
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